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By

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THE FIRST ABOLITION SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES*

BY EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER

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It was not merely an accident that the first abolition society was organized in Pennsylvania, since opposition to slave-holding had arisen there in the earliest colonial days. In 1688 Pastorius and some Friends of Germantown issued the first formal protest against slavery ever made in North America, while in 1693 the Keithian Quakers gave out in Philadelphia the first declaration of this kind printed in our country. In the years following the Friends took up the work, so that by 1776 most of their own slaves had been set free. Meanwhile abolitionist writers like Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, and Anthony Benezet, circulated far and wide such books as *The Mystery of Iniquity*, *All Slave-Keepers Apostates*, and *Notes on the Slave Trade*, arousing fierce opposition at times, but gradually making converts. Toward the end of the colonial period not only the Friends, but the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, were denouncing the system. By 1780 more than half of the negroes in Pennsylvania were free. In that year, owing to the pressure of popular opinion, the State legislature approved the first law for the abolition of slavery ever passed in the United States.

Accordingly it may be seen that in Pennsylvania both in colonial and Revolutionary days there was a large number of people who were determined to oppose slavery by every means in their power. Particularly was this true of the Quakers. Between 1770 and 1780 slavery among the Friends of Pennsylvania became extinct, but

* For the most part the original records upon which this study is based were obtained at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

they had no thought of ceasing their opposition. They had given liberty to their own slaves, but many were still held in bondage by other people, while from time to time kidnappers carried off negroes undoubtedly free.

A L L
SLAVE-KEEPERS

That keep the Innocent in Bondage,
A P O S T A T E S

Pretending to lay Claim to the Pure
& Holy Christian Religion ; of what Congregation
so ever ; but especially in their Ministers, by whose
example the filthy Leprosy and Apostacy is
spread far and near ; it is a notorious Sin, which
many of the true Friends of Christ, and his pure
Truth, called *Quakers*, has been for many Years,
and still are concern'd to write and bear Testimo-
ny against ; as a Practice so gross & hurtful to Re-
ligion, and destructive to Government, beyond
what Words can set forth, or can be declared of
by Men or Angels, and yet lived in by Ministers
and Magistrates in *America*.

The Leaders of the People cause them to Err.

Written for a General Service, by
him that truly and sincerely desires the present
and eternal Welfare and Happiness of all Man-
kind, all the World over, of all Colours, and
Nations, as his own Soul ;

BENJAMIN LAY.

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed for the AUTHOR. 1737.

Therefore men like Anthony Benezet were unwearied in their efforts to persuade masters to manumit their negroes, to help negroes purchase their freedom, and to help them preserve the liberty thus obtained.

At first this work was carried on individually or by committees of the Friends, but so many people in Philadelphia were interested that it needed only a particular occurrence to cause them to organize. Such an incident soon arose. In 1773 an Indian woman from New Jersey was brought to Philadelphia by her owner, who was taking her south. While her master tarried in the city she declared that she and her children were free. Then Israel Pemberton and other citizens, eager to right an injustice of this kind, came to her assistance and sued for her liberty in the courts. It was two years before the matter was decided; but at last she was declared to be a slave. The case made a deep impression, however, on those who conducted it, and they resolved to organize so as to do more effective work in the future. "This," said the recorder of the Society, writing years afterward, "is the first case on the minutes of the society, and appears to have given rise to its formation." Such was the origin of the first abolition society in the United States.

On April 14, 1775, a number of men met at the Sun Tavern in Philadelphia, and adopted a constitution for what they called "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage." John Baldwin was chosen president. The confusion which resulted from the Revolutionary War caused the Society almost immediately to fall into abeyance. In 1784, however, it was reorganized. In 1787 a new constitution was adopted, the name was changed, and Benjamin Franklin was elected president. Two years later the State legislature granted it a charter of incorporation. Thereafter the work was continuous until the need for such work passed away. Most of its supporters were the Friends who had been so active against slavery in the earlier days: "A majority of its members always belonged to that denomination," says the first historian. The official title of the organization was "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes

Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race.”

Early abolitionism, that is real abolitionism, has been much misunderstood. In after days when William Lloyd Garrison and his associates were arousing popular wrath and indignation, they were called abolitionists. They themselves would have said that they were members of anti-slavery societies or new abolitionists, and generally not supporters of the abolition societies whose quiet methods they despised. Yet in popular usage the old name was applied to the reformers with a new meaning, and in the bitterness and strife of the period from 1830 to 1860 “abolition” and “abolitionist” became opprobrious terms. And so entirely was the meaning changed that the character and work of the real abolition societies is now forgotten or misunderstood. The members of the Pennsylvania Society were all of them quiet, orderly, law-abiding men; their work was efficient and helpful.

The Society had been organized primarily to further the abolition of slavery, but in Pennsylvania that work had already progressed so far that the widest opportunity lay rather in assisting free negroes and helping them to retain their freedom.

This was the abolitionist activity which has most completely fallen into oblivion, but which most deserves to be remembered. It was the most successful and the most remarkable work of the Society, but because it was quiet and inconspicuous it is not often called to mind now. It is probably true that the greater part of the progress made by the negroes of Pennsylvania after they became free, was owing directly or indirectly to the assistance of the Society and its sympathizers.

Help was given in many different ways. Sometimes the Society paid a master to give liberty to his slave. Sometimes the master was assured that he would not be held chargeable, as the law ordained, in case the negro manumitted failed to support himself. Then when the

negro was free the Society took him into care, helped him to find employment, furnished him with letters of recommendation, and saw that his employer did not take advantage of him. In 1789 the Society appointed four committees to assist negroes in solving the social and economic problems which confronted them. It opened schools to teach children and night schools for adults, practically the first and certainly the best schools which these negroes ever had. As the rising prejudice against negroes, which increased so strikingly after 1800, became more and more apparent, the abolitionists did their utmost to appease the white people, and teach the blacks to behave in such a manner as to win respect. When the authorities threatened to pass discriminatory legislation, they opposed it earnestly and successfully. In 1801 the State Senate proposed to emancipate the remaining slaves in the Commonwealth, and pay the masters by levying a special tax upon the negroes who were free. At once the Society made a vigorous protest. Why tax those least able to pay? In carrying on all this work the members collected information and statistics which are the best the historian is now able to obtain.

In many respects free negroes were peculiarly liable to injustice and oppression at this time. Often they were seized by speculators who declared that they were fugitive slaves, and who, with the connivance of corrupt magistrates, sold them into bondage again. Probably the best known negro in Philadelphia was Bishop Allen; yet a Southern trader had him arrested, and swore that he had recently purchased him as a slave. So many people hastened to testify that they had known the colored preacher for more than twenty years, that the perjurer got a sentence in jail. In other cases, however, it was the negro who suffered. Furthermore kidnappers considered Pennsylvania an excellent field after 1780. Not infrequently the victim was clubbed into submission, hurried across the State line, and never heard of again.

Abolition Society for Promoting the Abolition
 of Slavery in the U.S. of Thomas Shipley Esq.

To Cash Paid for receiving a Colonial Lady
 & Mr. G. Hill & the Negro from near
 a New Brunswick where he had been reduced
 with an intention of kidnapping & then \$ 10.00

Postage on 64 letters relating to

Business of the Society \$ 50.00

1829
 9 Mo 24 Postage Paid on a Document from \$ 10.50

The Freedom of a Pettyman a Person
 of Colour in Prussia & Charleston
 under the Case of Thomas Grinke Esq. \$ 11.00

The organization of the Society in the first place had been owing to a desire to combat such practices, and the warfare waged against them was relentless and unceasing. "To prevent the disgraceful & inhuman practice of kidnapping (which it appears from several attempts lately detected, is carried to a considerable extent), we have committees under appointment who we believe maintain a due attention to their duties," says the old record. In 1820 and in 1847 severe laws were passed by the State legislature, largely owing to the efforts of the abolitionists. Meanwhile the Society saw to it that these laws were enforced. The penalties were exceedingly heavy, the maximum being a fine of \$2,000 and imprisonment for twenty-one years. One offender, who had stolen two negroes, was actually fined \$4,000 and sent to the penitentiary for forty-two years. On another occasion a culprit, who had been convicted largely through the efforts of the Society, sent most appealing letters beseeching its intercession. These letters are all copied in the folio records, but seem to have brought no mercy. It may be said that kidnapping in Pennsylvania was brought to an end because the abolitionists made it too dangerous.

After all the principal object was the abolition of slavery, but in furtherance of this object the abolitionists carried on the least successful part of their work. In Pennsylvania they continued the efforts which they had made to bring slavery to an end, for the act of 1780 abolished slavery for the future, and did not deprive masters of the negroes whom they already owned. In other words the act provided for gradual abolition, and the operation in some cases was very gradual indeed, there being a slave in the State, it is said, as late as 1860. For the most part, however, as time went on these slaves were set free by manumission. This also was largely the result of the persuasion and assistance of the abolitionists and Friends, who took up collections, helped negroes to save money, loaned them money, and made terms with the masters.

Meanwhile they struck at the root of the matter and tried to get slavery abolished outright. First they attacked it in the courts. The State constitution of 1790 declared that all men were born equally free and independent. In Massachusetts, where a similar expression had been used, the supreme court, deciding a test case, asserted that the existence of slavery was inconsistent with such a statement. About 1794 the abolitionists resolved to ascertain "Whether slavery, under any modification whatever, is not inconsistent with the present Constitution of this State." Therefore in the year following a master, Joseph Graisberry, was sued on a writ *de homine replegiando* because he was in possession of a negress, Flora. The case, which was instituted in the supreme court, was delayed for various reasons until at last it was sent up to the High Court of Errors and Appeals, the ultimate judicial authority in the State. After long arguments, in which Jared Ingersoll, William Rawle, and William Lewis urged for the negress pleas which we do not know, it was decided in 1802 that slavery might legally exist in Pennsylvania despite the lofty assertion contained in the bill of rights.

Then the Society tried to get the legislature to pass a law bringing slavery to an end. Year after year its members sent memorials to the State capital. In 1804, when the Senate was considering a bill, the Society made a stirring appeal. "We respectfully and earnestly solicit," ran the petition, "that the present opportunity may not be permitted to escape for wiping away the opprobrium which has so justly attached to our State on account of the manifest difference between the noble Charter of Liberty contained in our excellent Constitution, and a practice so pregnant with evil, and so directly in opposition to all our boasted professions." Many other people took up the cry at one time or another, and occasionally it seemed that the legislature might do something. In the end, however, it was seen that such a bill had no

chance of passing, and that slavery in Pennsylvania would be left to disappear by the gradual operation of the law already in force.

In its desire to destroy slavery the Society did not confine its efforts to Pennsylvania, but began to urge abolition elsewhere as well. On February 11, 1790, the United States Congress received a petition from the Quakers of Pennsylvania and also one from the Quakers of New York, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade. At once there began a heated debate which became the more vehement when on the next day was read a memorial from the Pennsylvania Society signed by its president, Benjamin Franklin. "From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birth-right of all men; and influenced by the strong ties of humanity, and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men." This was the first petition which the Federal government received asking it to take measures against slavery.

The slave-trade, which was mentioned in this memorial, had likewise engaged the attention of the abolitionists. Importation of slaves into Pennsylvania was made impossible by the act of 1780, but not a few Pennsylvanians

continued to fit out ships for the African trade, some of which brought negroes to Philadelphia, whence they were taken to other places. The earnest petitions of the Society induced the legislature to pass a law in 1788, which imposed a penalty of £1,000 upon anyone who engaged in the business; but even as late as 1796 a German traveller wrote, "Great ships loaded with slaves frequently come over from Africa, particularly to Philadelphia." To put a stop to this traffic, whether carried on from Philadelphia or from other places, the abolitionists did their utmost. In 1789 the Pennsylvania Society circulated far and wide a broadside reproducing from Matthew Carey's *American Museum* a dreadful picture showing negroes packed together under the deck of a slave-ship, and describing in vivid language their sufferings during the passage. After 1808 the Society was diligent in investigating violations of the law forbidding the slave-trade. In 1812 it sent a secret agent to New York and to Rhode Island to report upon the alleged activity of slavers there.

The Society opposed the extension of slavery into new territory as it was acquired by the Federal government, but accomplished nothing. It also took an active part in urging the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. In this it had the sympathy of great numbers of the people of the State who were not abolitionists. In 1827 Pennsylvania instructed her senators to do everything in their power to end slavery in the District, while two years later one of her representatives made a long speech on the subject in Congress. "The existence of slavery in the District of Columbia," said the State senate in 1831, "is a foul stain upon our national character, and a deep injury to our best interests."

Abolitionist activity in many other places was fostered and encouraged by the Pennsylvania Society. After the Revolutionary War numerous similar organizations were formed, some of them directly as a result of its efforts.

In 1792 it brought about the establishment of an abolition society in New Jersey, and a few years later, when the Wilmington Society was on the point of dissolving, a committee was sent from Philadelphia to give encouragement and promise assistance in order that the good work might be continued. With all the abolition societies the Pennsylvania organization carried on constant correspondence, and was generally regarded as parent and adviser. In 1794, when it was thought well to hold an abolition convention, the delegates met in Philadelphia. The position of leadership held by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society may be understood from the fact that in the years from 1794 to 1829 twenty out of twenty-four conventions were held in Philadelphia.

After 1810 the Society had in view two great objects: assisting free negroes in Pennsylvania, and urging the abolition of slavery outside of the State. The first attracted little attention and aroused no opposition; the second also was of such a character as to awaken no great hostility, since the methods employed were altogether those of argument and persuasion. The circulation of broadsides and pamphlets went on without ceasing. In 1787 Clarkson's *Essay on the Commerce and Slavery of the Africans* had been sent to all the governors of the States. In 1825 the Society resolved to collect and circulate in the slave States information showing the impolicy of slavery and the advantages of emancipation. There was some protest and some indignation in the South, but the literature was designed to convince the masters and not to arouse the slaves. When Benjamin Lundy's paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, was struggling for existence, the Society helped him by paying for ten subscriptions in advance, and lending him fifty dollars.

A somewhat more aggressive attitude was taken in the matter of boycotting the products of slave labor. In 1797 the abolition convention at Philadelphia declared that it did not believe that "it would be an effort alto-

gether ineffectual in favor of liberty, were its friends, throughout the United States, in all cases where it is practicable, to display marked preference of all such commodities as are of the culture or manufacture of freemen, to those which are cultivated or manufactured by slaves." Some years later the Pennsylvania Society offered to purchase at an advance of ten per cent over the market price, the first ten thousand pounds of cotton raised in the South by free labor and brought to Philadelphia. This was the foundation of the work which was afterwards carried on in the State by the Free Produce and Requitel Labor societies.

Of all this work it may be said in general that it was painstaking and thorough, orderly and quiet. In Pennsylvania it succeeded in nearly all respects. It had much to do with procuring the abolition of slavery, it stopped the slave-trade at Philadelphia, it brought kidnapping to an end, and it gave to free negroes assistance as beneficial as has ever been given to them anywhere. But in the larger task outside the State the abolitionists met with no success. They could not get the Federal government to abolish slavery in the nation's capital, or forbid slavery in Florida or Missouri. Their petitions were not heeded, their broadsides were not read. They could not get Southern legislatures to free slaves, nor Southern masters to manumit them. Rather slavery was increasing and threatening to spread across the whole country. By 1830 this was evident, and many felt that the time had come for a change. The conservative methods of the abolitionists seemed to have been fruitless. Therefore the younger, the bolder, the more aggressive, felt that slavery should be attacked violently and opposed at all cost. This feeling was not confined to Pennsylvania, but prevailed all over the North, its most famous exponent being William Lloyd Garrison. The result was the anti-slavery movement, supported by men who desired the abolition of slavery, and who urged immediate abolition fiercely.

but who seem to have despaired of obtaining such abolition, and therefore resolved to fight with all their strength against the slave power.

In 1833 Edwin P. Atlee, one of the leading members of the Society, wrote a pamphlet in which he demanded "total abolition. Not gradual, but immediate." The constitution of the United States, he said, was an iniquity, since it supported slavery. In the year following the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society was founded. Its members were determined that no more slave States should be admitted. State and local organizations of the same character now sprang up everywhere, and the country was overwhelmed by a torrent of incendiary utterances. "We believe that slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought *immediately* to be abolished," said the constitution of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia. Slavery in the United States was worse than any cruelty of the Spanish inquisition, said the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society. It was a violation of the law of God and of the constitution, said another association. More alarming still were the reckless utterances about disunion. In a pamphlet published in 1840 the author said, "It is the duty of Pennsylvania and of the South, to do to others as they would that others should do to them. It is their duty to let other States secede from the Union, much as they may regret it, if the only means of preventing it is to assist in inflicting a wrong upon others, which they would not undergo themselves for the sake of any political union that ever existed." "We ought instantly to grant to all men the enjoyment of their inalienable rights."

The result was that the anti-slavery movement aroused a storm of opposition such as the old abolitionist propaganda had never encountered. All over the State the newspapers overwhelmed the agitators with opprobrium and abuse. Garrison was commended to a lunatic asylum.

Speakers were driven away and lecturers were forbidden to appear. In 1838 Pennsylvania Hall, where meetings were being held, was burned by a mob, and a fierce riot followed. When appeal was made to the legislature, for protection, little comfort was given. It advised the anti-slavery advocates to let it be "their duty to abstain from the propagation of opinions and sentiments inimical to the peace of the country, and to the integrity of the union, and from holding public meetings which, from their obnoxious character have a direct tendency to produce disorder, violations of the peace, and riots, and such complaints as are contained in the petitions now under consideration, will soon cease to be made."

In all this agitation the older abolitionist organization took small part. Most of the Quakers, who made up the larger part of its membership, believed in persuading and convincing, not in threatening and coercing. If their progress was slow they would wait. They would not violate either law or constitution. They believed that violence would bring about reaction, that unseemly denunciation of the South would make abolition more difficult, and that the lot of the free negro worse. In 1834 William Rawley, president of the Pennsylvania Society, explained the views of the abolitionists.

"The objects of this association were temperate, legitimate and correct. They were substantially confined to the relief of our own state—much individual good was done—degraded people suffering by reason of fraud or unprovoked violence were relieved—the pursuits of them by force, or falsely claiming rights to their service were cheerfully repelled—their youth were educated—their industry resisted—in sickness they were aided—and in the hour of death they were solaced and supported.

"In all this no offence was given to the citizens of other states. Their boundaries were respected—and their laws and regulations not attempted to be violated. A belie-

was entertained that an abhorrence of slavery would gradually work its way, and that it was the duty of the society patiently to wait the event."

"The conduct and proceedings," he said, "of the general anti-slavery society have not met with my entire approbation. The members appear to me to be actuated by a blind and injudicious zeal, productive of measures the effect of which will be to awaken alarm, create a determined opposition among the slave holders, and delay the progress of conscientious emancipation.

"That day—the day of general emancipation—will, I trust and believe, hereafter arrive. But I fear it will be delayed by the institution of societies so warm, and so imprudent."

And yet by a curious fate, although many of the abolitionists opposed the violence of the anti-slavery movement and expressed their disapproval of it, their name was given to the anti-slavery advocates, and became a term of loathing and contempt. Atlee and his associates might found an anti-slavery society, but not only because they desired to abolish slavery but because some of them had been members of the abolitionist organization, and some of them continued to be, the press and the mob both termed them abolitionists. Soon the word came to signify an undesirable fanatic, and was one of the most insulting epithets that could be applied. In 1838 the bitterest opponents of Governor Ritner delighted to call him "abolitionist."

As time went on popular indignation subsided, and great numbers of people were won over to the new and aggressive policy. Indeed after a while not a few of the conservative abolitionists and Friends came to believe that aggressive methods were the right ones. This was the cause of much debate and bitterness, and had as one of its results the formation, in 1853, of the Society of Progressive Friends. After that time there were none who demanded abolition and denounced slave-holding more vehemently.

In some respects, then, the venerable abolition society of Pennsylvania might seem to have outlived its usefulness and fallen upon evil days. Not only were all the bolder spirits engaged in more vigorous and sensational work, but many of its own adherents had withdrawn from it, or, like Edwin P. Atlee, were devoting most of their time to the new abolitionism. It was difficult to keep up attendance at the meetings, and, because of the depreciation of some of its property, the resources of the Society were much reduced. In 1842 it was necessary to appoint a "Resuscitating Committee" to revive interest and attract new members.

Yet the old organization did not lose heart, but continued steadfastly on its way, seeking to do useful work, and doing a great deal of good. In the face of overwhelming prejudice it devoted itself to the humble task of assisting the negro and helping him to feel that there were some who believed in his capacity to improve and his right to make progress. The members opposed the Colonization Society because they believed that it was trying to get rid of negroes as undesirable people. In Pennsylvania the abolitionists did their utmost to dissuade the legislature from passing discriminatory laws and debarring black men from the suffrage. They did all that they could to prove to the community that colored people were not by instinct worthless and vicious, but would be industrious and law-abiding if given a fair chance. It is not too much to say that at this period the Quakers and the abolitionists were substantially the only friends whom the negro had in the State.

To slavery the abolitionists continued their opposition, but all of the more striking work, the work which aroused the hostility of the South, was carried on by the anti-slavery agitators. From time to time the abolitionists petitioned the legislature to put an end to slavery in Pennsylvania, but there was such a little remnant of it left that their memorials gained no response. In 1847

however, something was achieved when masters travelling from the South, were forbidden to take their slaves through Pennsylvania.

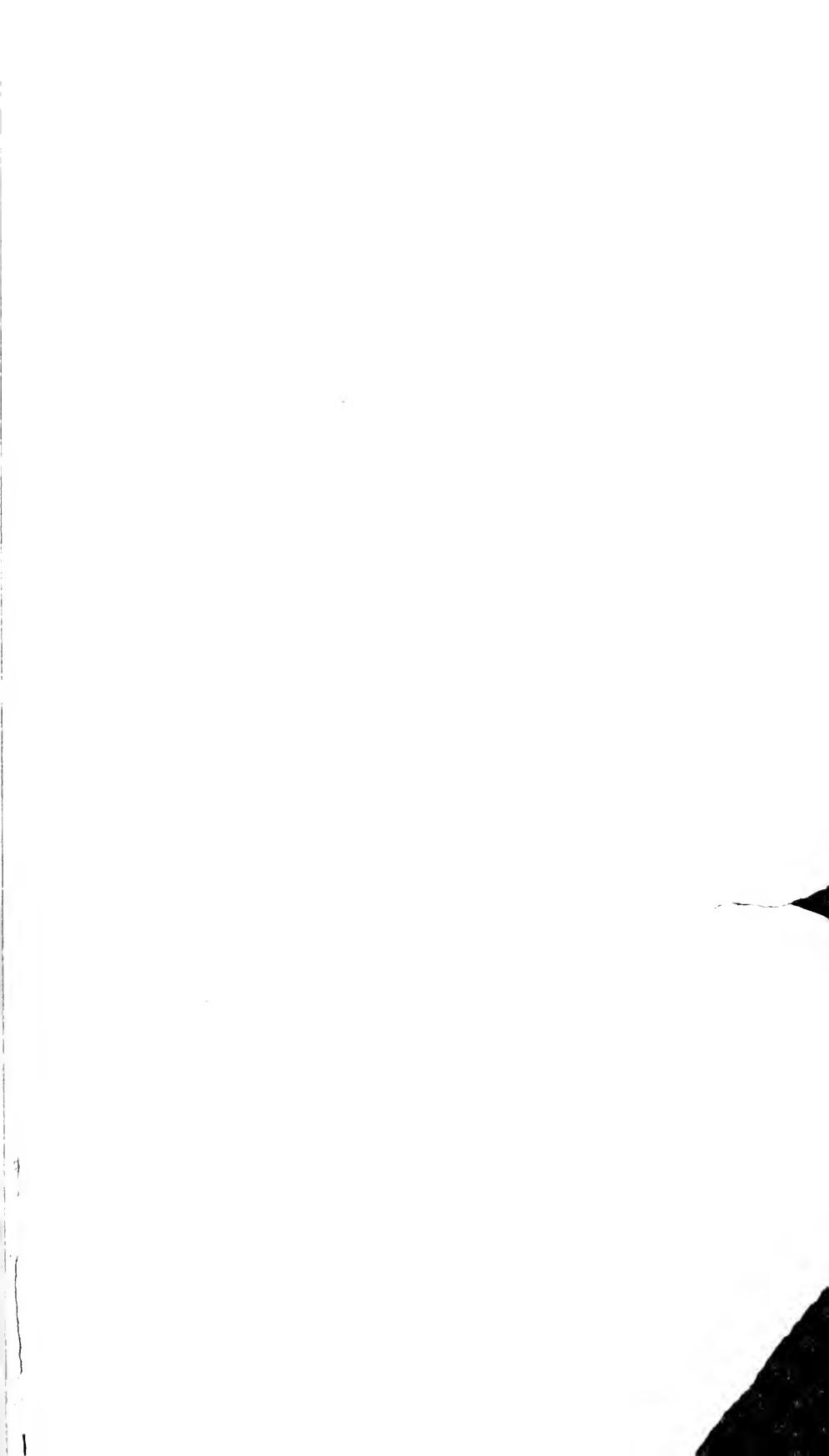
Perhaps their most aggressive work in the period after 1840 was done along with the members of the anti-slavery societies in behalf of fugitive slaves. This question had always been a matter of concern to the Society, since its members believed that alleged runaways did not get a fair trial, and so free negroes might easily be carried off. For this reason they opposed the first fugitive slave law of 1793. Then it was felt that runaways should have trial by jury, so the abolitionists sent vast numbers of petitions to the State authorities asking that this be granted. After the passage of the fugitive slave law of 1850 they joined with the anti-slavery advocates in demanding a personal liberty law which would prevent the return of fugitives under any circumstances.

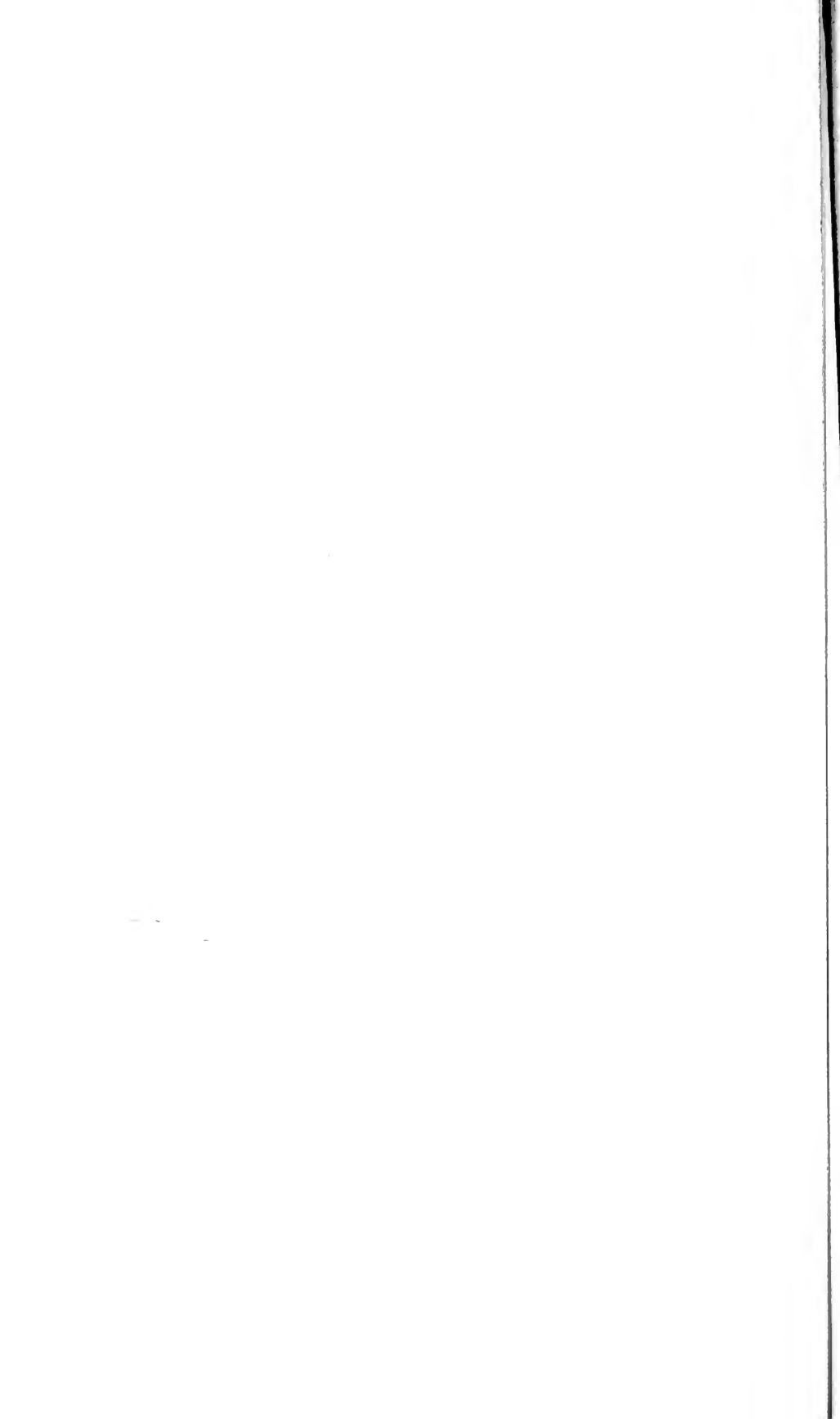
Finally during the dark days of the Civil War, when there was less room for abolitionist agitation, the Society continued its old work of assisting negroes, particularly negroes from the South who could get no work. During this time they raised money for the maintenance of orphan colored children, and undertook to find places for them. In Philadelphia they took up once more the cause of the despised colored people, and tried hard to have them allowed to ride in the street cars.

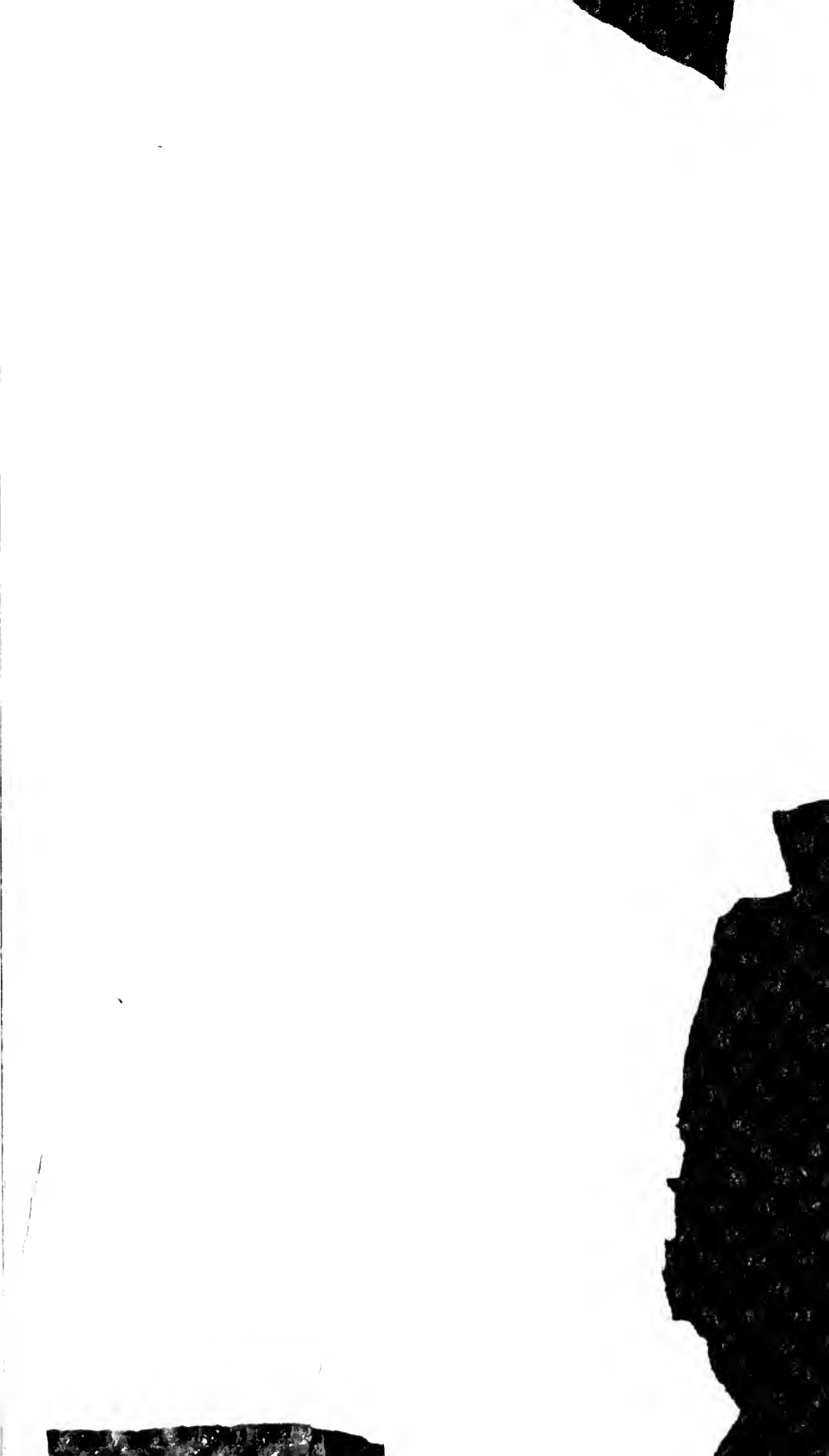
But when the Civil War was at last over, and slavery was abolished, the days of the Society drew to a close. The names of its founders were only a memory. Its great leaders such as Caspar Wistar and William Rawle had died when the larger work of the abolitionists seemed a failure. Now suddenly by a prodigious cataclysm, which even the anti-slavery men could not foresee, the whole system of African bondage was swept away, and there was no longer any need for abolitionist work. The dwindling records of the Society, once so full, come to an end in 1868. In 1876 the celebration of the hundredth anni-

versary of its foundation was really to commemorate something that had passed away.

Such was the work of the first and greatest of the abolition societies. The gathering of a handful of brave and sympathetic men in the old Sun Tavern had produced a mighty organization which had lasted almost a century. Without injustice, without repining, without recrimination, it carried on its work in the face of incredible difficulty and discouragement. If its work was efficient and continuous, its policy was calm and wise. It never tried by force or by revolution to destroy slavery, but by persuasion and enlightenment it sought to bring it to an end. Nor was it merely destructive. It devoted most of its energy to the thankless and unrewarded task of assisting the negroes set free. That which should always be most remembered about the abolitionists, who too frequently are thought of as wanton disturbers of the peace of the old Union, is that they brought about the large part of what has been done to improve the negroes who live in the North.







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